

Local Government and Politics / 231

what had happened and Quiroz asked many questions, getting the names of each of the rebels. Then Quiroz felt a sudden pride in being able to tell the government, so he called Yautepoc and asked them to send troops saying, "Come here quickly for here is the *pájar de carne* (culprit)." Meanwhile Quiroz entertained Colonel Ibarra and had his wife serve a meal. Two hours later the troops arrived and surrounded the house. Quiroz then said, "Compadre, we are besieged. When you came in someone must have seen you and informed the government." Then Ibarra gave himself up.

Ortega voluntarily retired from public life and was followed by a triumvirate consisting of Demetrio Rojas, José Donaciano Navarrette, and Don Pedro Mesa. This group took over the responsibility for the administration of the communal resources and were most unpopular because of their refusal to permit Tepoztecos the use of the communal lands.

The first serious threat to the dominant position of the *caciques* in the village occurred in 1909, just on the eve of the Revolution. The occasion was the contest for state governor. The Díaz candidate Escandón was opposed by Patricio Leyva. The village divided and a Comité Liberal Tepozteco was formed with Leyva as its candidate. The leaders of the pro-Leyva group were Refugio Sánchez, Esequiel Labastida, and Bernabel Labastida, all of whom were later to become Zapatistas. The slogan of Leyva was "Down with Porfirio Díaz." Demetrio Rojas imprisoned Bernabel Labastida and had him sent to Quintana Roo on what informants say were trumped-up charges of robbery. In addition, they had the support of two Tepoztecos who had been living in Mexico City since 1901, Tranquilino Hernández of the barrio of Santo Domingo, and Carlos Ortiz Rojas of La Santísima. The men were members of the Typographical Union of Mexico City and had helped found the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, known as CROM, one of the first Mexican labor organizations. These two Tepoztecos later played an important role in the political life of the village during the twenties.

Escandón won the governorship, and apparently the Díaz regime was in. But suddenly in 1910 the Revolution broke out in the north and it was not long before it started up in Morelos. It should be noted in this connection that Tepoztlán was one of the first places in the state of Morelos to join the Revolution.

Few villages in Mexico have suffered more than Tepoztlán during the Revolution. In February, 1911, more than a year before Zapata's call for revolt in Morelos, Tepoztlán was liberated from the rule of the local *caciques* and the Díaz days were over. The village was the scene of repeated invasions, first by rebel troops and then by government forces. From the start the villagers' sympathies were with the rebels. The promise of land was a great appeal, but for a time the Tepoztecos attempted to continue their normal routines and remain neutral in the impending struggles. This was impossible, since neither the Zapatistas nor the Federales would have it that way.

The Zapatistas recruited soldiers and demanded services from the villagers, just as did the Carrancistas later on. The difference, however, was that most of the villagers helped the former voluntarily but were forced to help the latter. As a rule

236 / LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: *Tepoztlán Restudied*

175 tested to the president of the local government against the continued depletion of
 185 the forest resources. When the president paid no attention to their demands they
 665 went directly to the governor of the state, José G. Parres. Parres had himself been
 a revolutionary and a sympathizer of Zapata. He advised them to form a peasant
 organization. Upon this advice, and with the prompting of Carlos Ortiz and Tran-
 quilino Hernández of Mexico City, they formed the Unión de Campesinos Tepoz-
 tecos. The Unión began to organize the peasants in the smaller and poorer barrios of
 the village, Santa Cruz, San Sebastián, and San Pedro.²⁵ When they gained some
 (467) strength they openly joined the CROM and thereafter were called "Bolsheviki" by
 their political opponents in the village. The village was now clearly divided into two
 factions, the Bolsheviki vs. the Centrales. The former was led primarily by ex-
 Zapatistas, the latter by the sons of the ex-caciques. The main slogans of the Bolshe-
 viki were "Conserve the Communal Resources" and "Stop the Exploitation of the
 Forests."

The Bolsheviki now openly used the red and black flag of the CROM as their
 emblem and began to organize demonstrations in the village. They went as a group
 to the office of the president to protest the continued depletion of the forests. The
 175 president jailed the leaders for a few days and then sent them on to Cuernavaca.
 665 An informant, a leader in the Bolsheviki, described the incident as follows:

We marched to Cuernavaca in perfect formation holding aloft the red and black flag
 which was our emblem. As we entered Cuernavaca we shouted in unison, "Arriba los
 huarachudos!" "Abajo los caciques!" [Up with the wearers of huaraches! Down with the
 caciques!] "Abajo los aristócratas! Arriba la CROM." [Down with the aristocrats. Up
 with the CROM.] This yelling of slogans continued until we reached the palace of the
 governor where we were jailed on charges of sedition for having raised the red and black
 flag in the municipal building. After some days we were released from jail through the
 efforts in Mexico City of Ortiz and Hernández. At once we bought cloth to make a new
 flag. Then we formed a column and marched back to Tepoztlán. At the entrance of the
 village near the Cerro del Tesoro, we were joined by about a hundred sympathizers and
 we all marched through the streets of the village shouting our slogans. In this fashion we
 passed by the offices of the presidency and insulted the president. But he only shut the
 door. Soon our demonstration was over. The next day we accompanied the delegate from
 the CROM, who had been with us, to the railroad at El Parque. In his farewell address
 he advised us strongly against violence.

175 Encouraged by their release from Cuernavaca and the attitude of the governor,
 631 the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos grew in numbers and influence and soon suc-
 665 ceeded in having the acting president deposed and one of their own men installed.
 But no sooner was their own man in office when the Centrales organized a delega-
 tion to the governor and returned with new instructions deposing the Bolsheviki
 president. This struggle went on all through 1922 and 1923, during which time
 nine local governments fell.

²⁵ The Bolsheviki, like the church, used the barrio rather than the *demarcación* as the unit
 for their organization.